



Security Council

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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND NINE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-NINTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 24 May 1991, at 5.05 p.m.

President: Mr. LI DAOYU

(China)

Members:

Austria
Belgium
Côte d'Ivoire
Cuba
Ecuador
France
India
Romania
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
United Kingdom of Great Britain and
Northern Ireland
United States of America
Yemen
Zaire
Zimbabwe

Mr. HAJNOCZI
Mr. NOTERDAEME
Mr. BECHIO
Mr. ALARCON de QUESADA
Mr. AYALA LASSO
Mr. ROCHEREAU de la SABLIERE
Mr. MENON
Mr. MUNTEANU
Mr. VORONTSOV

Sir David HANNAY
Mr. PICKERING
Mr. AL-ALFI
Mr. LUKABU Khabouji N'ZAJI
Mr. ZENENGA

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The meeting was called to order at 5.30 p.m.

TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF MR. RAJIV GANDHI, FORMER PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): The international community has learned with great shock and deep regret of the untimely and tragic death of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, the distinguished former Prime Minister of India, in the very prime of his life. Rajiv Gandhi's great qualities as a statesman and his commitment to the United Nations, which were known to everyone, ensure that he will long be remembered in this Organization.

Permit me, as President of the Council, and on behalf of the other members of the Council, to convey to the representative of India and, through him, to the Government and people of India, and to the bereaved family, profound condolences.

I now invite members to stand and observe a minute of silence.

The members of the Council observed a minute of silence.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): I now call on the representative of India.

Mr. MENON (India): Mr. President, my delegation deeply appreciates the condolences voiced by you this afternoon at the tragic demise of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, former Prime Minister of India. This Council's tribute to him is a recognition of his contribution to international affairs.

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, as Prime Minister, brought to his job and to his country fresh thinking in many fields, ranging from the preservation of cultural values and traditions to scientific and technological modernization, from developmental activities to the promotion of sports. He embodied, in many ways, a remarkable and much-needed synthesis of the traditional and the modern in Indian society.

(Mr. Menon, India)

He entered the international arena in a spirit of robust optimism, with a vigorous belief that relations amongst nations could be improved for the benefit of all. Whether it was disarmament or environmental protection, or a dialogue between the developing and developed worlds, he was a firm believer in cooperation, in a meeting of minds that resulted in decisive and effective joint action, and this, Sir, underlined his commitment to the United Nations and its noble ideals. We will miss his genial, guiding presence in India; but his legacy of patriotism, humanism, good sense and diligence will continue to serve the nation.

My delegation, moved by this tribute, would like to thank you, and other members of this Council, for sympathizing with us in our loss.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES

LETTER DATED 22 MAY 1991 FROM THE REPRESENTATIVES OF COTE D'IVOIRE, CUBA, ECAUDOR, INDIA, YEMEN, ZAIRE AND ZIMBABWE TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/22634)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Malaysia and the United Arab Emirates in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda.

In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

(The President)

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Aridor (Israel), Mr. Salah (Jordan), Mr. Makkawi (Lebanon), Mr. Razali (Malaysia) and Mr. Al-Shaali (United Arab Emirates) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter, dated 24 May 1991, from the Permanent Observer of Palestine to the United Nations, which will be issued as document S/22640, and reads as follows:

"I have the honour to request that, in accordance with its previous practice, the Security Council invite Dr. Riyad Mansour, Deputy Permanent Observer of Palestine to the United Nations, Chargé d'affaires a.i., to participate in the current debate of the Security Council on the item entitled "The situation in the occupied Arab territories".

The request is not made pursuant to rule 37 or rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, but, if it is approved, the Council would invite the Deputy Permanent Observer of Palestine to participate, not under rule 37 or rule 39, but with the same rights of participation as under rule 37.

Does any member of the Security Council wish to speak on this request?

Mr. PICKERING (United States of America): Before I begin to address this issue, with your permission, Mr. President, I would just like to say that my delegation, I and my Government want to associate ourselves most strongly with your eloquent presentation of condolences and to thank our colleague of India for his equally eloquent and moving response.

The United States, as it normally does when this question is considered, will request a vote on the proposal before the Security Council, and the United States will vote against it on two grounds. First, we believe that the Council does not have before it a valid request to speak. Secondly, the United States maintains that the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) should be granted permission to speak only if the request complies with rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure. In our view, it is unwarranted and unwise for the Council to break with its own practice and rules in this regard.

As all members of the Council are aware, it is a long-established practice that observers do not have the right to speak in the Security Council at their own request. Rather, a request must be made on the observer's behalf by a Member State. My Government sees no justification for any departure from that practice. Further, there is nothing in resolutions recently adopted by the Assembly that would warrant a change in Security Council practice. It is also clear that the General Assembly resolutions are not binding on the Security Council.

General Assembly resolution 43/177, which purported to change the designation of the PLO Mission, did so:

"without prejudice to the observer status and functions of the Palestine Liberation Organization within the United Nations system, in conformity with relevant United Nations resolutions and practice".

(Mr. Pickering, United States)

That resolution does not constitute recognition of any State of Palestine. Like many other Members of the United Nations, the United States does not recognize such a State. The United States has consistently taken the position that, under the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the only legal basis on which the Council may grant a hearing to persons speaking on behalf of non-governmental entities is rule 39. For four decades, the United States has supported a generous interpretation of rule 39, and it would not have objected had this matter been appropriately raised under that rule.

We are, however, opposed to special and ad hoc departures from orderly procedure. The United States, consequently, opposes granting to the Palestine Liberation Organization the same rights to participate in the proceedings of the Security Council as if that organization represented a Member State of the United Nations. We believe in listening to all points of view, but not in a manner that requires violating our rules of procedure. In particular, the United States does not agree with the recent practice of the Security Council that appears selectively to try to enhance the prestige of those who wish to speak in the Council through a departure from the rules of procedure. We consider this special practice to be without legal foundation and to constitute an abuse of our rules.

For all those reasons, the United States requests that the terms of the proposed invitation be put to the vote. Of course the United States will vote against the proposal.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): If no other member of the Council wishes to speak at this stage, I shall take it that the Council is ready to vote on the request by Palestine.

It is so decided.

(The President)

I therefore now put to the vote the request by Palestine.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Austria, China, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, India,
Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yemen, Zaire,
Zimbabwe

Against: United States of America

Abstaining: Belgium, France, United Kingdom of Great Britain and
Northern Ireland

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): The result of the voting is as follows: 11 votes in favour, 1 against and 3 abstentions. The request has been approved.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Mansour (Palestine) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in response to the request contained in a letter dated 22 May 1991 from the Permanent Representatives of Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, India, Yemen, Zaire and Zimbabwe to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council in document S/22634. Members of the Council have before them document S/22633, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the Council to the following documents: S/22621, which contains the text of a letter dated 20 May 1991 from the Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; and S/22626, which contains the text of a letter

(The President)

dated 20 May 1991 from the Chargé d'affaires ad interim of the Observer Mission of Palestine to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

The first speaker is the representative of Palestine, on whom I now call.

Mr. MANSOUR (Palestine) (interpretation from Arabic): At the outset, I should like to express to you, Sir, on behalf of the people and delegation of Palestine, our warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. The friendship between our peoples and Governments requires no description. Our friend China was one of the first States to stand by the struggle of our people. Your political wisdom and diplomatic skills, Sir, are the best guarantee of the full success of our deliberations this month. I also cannot fail to thank your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Belgium, for his successful presidency of the Council last month.

The Security Council's meeting is overshadowed in these painful moments by the untimely and tragic death of the former Prime Minister of India and President of the Non-Aligned Movement, the late Rajiv Gandhi, a sincere friend of the Palestinian people and its leadership, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). I take the occasion of this meeting of the Security Council to convey, on behalf of the Palestinian people and its leadership, our sincere condolences to the bereaved family and the people and Government of India on this tragic loss.

The Security Council is meeting yet again to consider the situation in the occupied Palestinian territories, including Jerusalem, following Israel's deportation of four Palestinians from Gaza on Saturday, 18 May 1991. By that act, Israel is repeating its perpetration of violations of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949. Furthermore, it continues to refuse to implement repeated

(Mr. Mansour, Palestine)

Security Council resolutions on this subject, including resolutions 607 (1988), 608 (1988), 636 (1989), 641 (1989) and 681 (1990), to which I must add several presidential statements on the subject.

(Mr. Mansour, Palestine)

Since the beginning of the intifadah to date, Israel has blatantly and overtly deported 70 Palestinians from their homeland. It has deported several hundred other Palestinians under various pretexts, with somewhat less ado. Those deportations have gone hand in hand with a feverish escalation in the building of new settlements in the occupied territories and the expansion of older ones, particularly in the past few months. In addition, large-scale plans have been adopted to build thousands of new housing units in occupied Arab Jerusalem, as well as a further Judaization of that City in an attempt to obliterate its Arab and Islamic character.

Israel's leaders, led by Prime Minister Shamir, continue to reaffirm their position that there will be no withdrawal from one inch of occupied Palestinian territory, including Jerusalem and the occupied Syrian Golan Heights. The oppression and mistreatment of the heroic people of the intifadah is escalating; hundreds are being killed and wounded each week; thousands are being detained. Thousands of homes are being demolished, curfews are being imposed, universities continue to be closed and the livelihoods of our Palestinian people are being destroyed. There has been further expropriation of Palestinian land and wealth, particularly water resources. All this increases the urgent need to provide international protection for our people under occupation until that occupation is brought to an end.

Israel is doing all these things within earshot of the Security Council and before its very eyes. At the same time, political visits to our region are intensifying in an attempt to breathe new life into the peace effort. One may well wonder whether Israel's actions against the Palestinian and other Arab peoples under its occupation are helping the peace process. Are those

(Mr. Mansour, Palestine)

who daily declare their opposition to withdrawing from occupied Palestinian land, including Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, facilitating the peace process? Do those who reject an international conference under United Nations supervision serve the peace process? Are those who want to prevent Western Europe and the permanent members of the Security Council from playing a part in the conference really helping to open up new horizons for the peace process? Do those who reject any role for the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, really want to take any steps at all towards peace in the region?

Do those who reject our people's right to self-determination, including its right to independence in an independent State of its own, want peace? Are those who reject the presence of any Palestinians from Jerusalem in any Palestinian delegation with which they might be negotiating and who wish to form a Palestinian delegation of their own choosing really serious in their efforts to achieve peace? Do those who greet every visit of the Secretary of State of the United States of America with the construction of a new settlement really want to take even one small step towards peace? Do those who continue to flout international law, the Geneva Conventions and United Nations and Security Council resolutions - as they do in many ways, including the deportations - really want peace? Do those who reject international legitimacy as a basis for any just and balanced solution really want peace to see the light of day?

One might also wonder whether Israel - which behaves with such arrogance and such disregard for international law, which flouts its commitments under the United Nations Charter and under the resolutions of the Security Council - would be able to act as it does were it not backed and condoned by

(Mr. Mansour, Palestine)

some States that have great weight in today's world and in the Council. Must not the party that so elegantly, and correctly, reminds us that one of the basic requirements for a settlement is peace for land now put an end to Israel's attempts at reinterpreting Security Council resolution 242 (1967) to mean that there need be no withdrawal from occupied Palestinian territory, including Jerusalem and the occupied Golan Heights? Should that party not compel Israel in the strongest manner to withdraw completely and comprehensively from those occupied territories? Should not the party that so elegantly - and correctly - declares that the settlements are the main obstacle to the current peace efforts now make some practical response to the question by eliminating that obstacle? If not, such words will be mere expressions of another opinion of which Israel can take note, one that will not prevent it from making that obstacle even larger.

Those very same parties that left no stone unturned in the implementation of Security Council resolutions dealing with the Gulf region have not lifted a single finger or taken a single practical step to implement Security Council resolutions on the Arab-Israeli struggle or on the Palestinian question, which lies at its very heart. Why do we find such double standards when it comes to implementing Security Council resolutions? Why do those parties refuse to take one confidence-building step towards our people - by stopping the settlements, for example? What about the implementation of the resolutions adopted on the deportations, resolutions 607 (1988), 608 (1988), 681 (1990) and others? Why do they not compel Israel to allow the 70 Palestinians deported since 1988 to return, and why do they not provide international protection to our people in occupied Palestine?

(Mr. Mansour, Palestine)

We ask members of the Council, particularly now that the Council has been strengthened under what is purported to be a new international order, what they intend to do to implement the resolutions they have adopted. What does the Council intend to do to ensure respect by Member States of their commitments under the Charter? If the Council is unable to compel Israel to implement the resolutions it has adopted on settlements and deportations, one can ask with complete objectivity what it will do to convince even the most naive that any party can compel Israel to withdraw from our occupied land at a later stage?

If we are to achieve peace, strong will is required in dealing with Israel, which is hindering the achievement of peace. The path to peace, upon which all States are agreed, is well known. We took the initiative of embodying it in our peace proposal of November 1988.

(Mr. Mansour, Palestine)

That initiative was supported by 151 Member States in the General Assembly in December 1989. It provides that the basis for a settlement is international legitimacy, including the implementation of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), and calls for Israel's withdrawal from the territories it has occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem. It also provides for our national rights, particularly our right to self-determination. The mechanism to achieve that solution is stated to be an international conference, under the auspices of the United Nations, with the participation of all parties to the conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, on an equal footing, and the five permanent members of the Security Council.

Last December, through a presidential statement in connection with resolution 681 (1990), all members of the Security Council agreed to the idea of an international conference, at an appropriate time and with appropriate membership. Since the appropriate time is now - as all agree, including President Bush in his famous statement of March this year - let the international conference begin in accordance with what nearly all the States of the world have agreed. Let preparations begin forthwith. Our Central Committee recently rejected the idea of any conference not based on international legitimacy and not held under United Nations auspices.

Let the Council and its members be strong with regard to the party obstructing the international will. That party is Israel. Let the resolution be implemented, implemented whether Israel wants it or not, and not become just another resolution added to the records of the United Nations.

(Mr. Mansour, Palestine)

Israel is not and cannot be above international law and above the resolutions of the Security Council. It is not above the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter. Let the resolution be implemented, and let it be the basis for wider consideration of another issue, that of settlements, which the Council must deal with very soon. It must take practical measures that will deter Israel and put an end to its policies and destructive practices. The settlements must be stopped. They must be eliminated and the settlers must be withdrawn, with an end to the occupation of our occupied land.

I cannot end without expressing our sincere thanks to the group of non-aligned countries in the Security Council and their coordinator for this month, the Ambassador of Zimbabwe, for their collective call for the holding of this meeting and their joint support for the draft resolution. The Non-Aligned Movement has thus reaffirmed its continuing strong support for the just struggle of our people for freedom and independence and for our inalienable national rights.

In conclusion, I wish to greet in this Chamber our heroic people, the people of the intifadah inside occupied Palestine, as it begins the forty-third month of the sacred intifadah, despite great sacrifices and difficult conditions. The will and unity of our people, which are widely respected, are the rock against which Israel's arrogance and obstinacy will break down. The end of the occupation will come and the State of Palestine will have full sovereignty on our land, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole and legitimate representative of our people.

The PRESIDENT: (interpretation from Chinese): I thank the representative of Palestine for his kind words addressed to me.

(The President)

The next speaker is the representative of the United Arab Emirates, who wishes to make a statement in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of Arab States for the month of May. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. AL-SHAALI (United Arab Emirates) (interpretation from Arabic):

I should like first to associate myself, Mr. President, with your expression of our condolences to the friendly delegation of India and to the Government and people of India. I wish to ask the Indian delegation to convey to the Government and people of India and to the bereaved family our condolences on the passing of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, who had served as President of the Non-Aligned Movement and who also served all the causes that are dear to the non-aligned countries.

On behalf of the Group of Arab States, which I have the honour to preside over this month, I take pleasure in congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. Your personal experience and the positions of your friendly country, China, on the causes of right and justice are such that we have every confidence that you will conduct the Council's proceedings successfully.

I also wish to express our gratitude to your predecessor, Ambassador Noterdaeme, the Permanent Representative of Belgium, for presiding over the Council last month.

At a time when the eyes of the world are on the efforts that have been going on in the search for a peaceful settlement of the Middle East crisis, and when attempts are being made at the international and regional levels to put an end to the tragedy that has afflicted the Middle East, whose cost has always been borne by the Palestinian people, Israel surprises us daily with new measures and practices, either by expelling an increasing number of

(Mr. Al-Shaali, United
Arab Emirates)

Palestinian citizens, as happened last Tuesday, or by building new settlements in the occupied Arab territories, which goes on every day. Those practices clearly show Israel's total disdain for the positions and efforts of the international community, including those of Israel's allies and friends.

Israel bases itself on various grounds, which are not those of the international community. It has thus defied, as it continues to defy, all the resolutions adopted by the Council. The expulsion of Palestinians from their territory, the welcoming of new Jewish immigrants, the building of settlements and the obstruction of peace efforts are all acts that contribute to the attainment of Israel's ultimate goal, which is to rid the occupied territories of their Palestinian populations and impose a fait accompli by creating a large number of Jewish settlements, so as ultimately to annex the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories.

We Arabs know very well from experience the Israeli practices and their objectives of expansion, domination, aggression and threats. Israel will continue to be the major factor for instability in the region because of its policies.

(Mr. Al-Shaali, United Arab Emirates)

At the same time, we are aware of the changes that have taken place in international relations and of the radical transformations that have given rise to hopes on the part of all those who have suffered from injustice, aggression and occupation and placed their hopes in the Security Council and the United Nations as a whole. The Council has exercised its competence fully with regard to certain problems. To ensure its credibility, it is in duty-bound to exercise the same competence with regard to the Israeli occupation imposed on the Palestinian territories and people since the aggression of 1967.

It is our hope that the efforts at present under way to bring about a lasting political settlement of the Middle East crisis will be successful. We believe that peace will be restored when the Palestinian people fully exercises its rights and establishes its own independent entity on Palestinian soil.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): I thank the representative of the United Arab Emirates for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Israel. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. ARIDOR (Israel): Sir, it is a personal pleasure for me to be able to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. I have no doubt that your wealth of diplomatic experience will be of invaluable importance during the coming days.

I should also like to thank the Permanent Representative of Belgium for the outstanding way in which he conducted the affairs of the Council during the month of April.

(Mr. Aridor, Israel)

Israel regrets this convening of the Security Council, which reconfirms the one-sidedness of the United Nations. The Council is being convened precipitously at a critically sensitive juncture in Middle East diplomacy at the urging of a discredited terrorist group, the ally of Saddam Hussein.

Vast calamities befall human beings across five continents; victims strewn to the four winds are left virtually unattended; entire countries and regions in Africa, Central Europe, Asia and the Middle East are riven by bloodshed and human misery; over 2 million Iraqi Kurds face the threat of genocide and mass deportation. But it is the alleged rights of four convicted terrorists, two of whom are convicted murderers, that occupy this Council.

The disproportion evident in the obsession with Israel not only threatens the work of this Organization, but it undermines its moral basis.

The Council is made to brush aside its pressing responsibilities in favour of the surrealistic agenda of the PLO. It is reminiscent of Nero, the Roman emperor, who is said to have found time to fiddle while Rome was burning.

The Council is now being urged to debate and condemn, not once, but twice, Israel's removal from its midst of four PLO operatives. This is hardly the epicentre of global cataclysm. The fixation with Israel, repeated ad nauseam, is ominous and repellent. It leads nowhere.

The four men expelled by Israel last week are convicted criminals prominent in instigating and perpetrating violence. All four were leaders of local terror squads, who bore direct responsibility for murderous terror attacks committed under orders from abroad, for which they were tried and convicted.

These are their bloody achievements in the service of PLO terrorism:

(Mr. Aridor, Israel)

The first was sentenced to 15 years in gaol for throwing two hand grenades at Israeli targets. The second killed two Israelis, one Arab pedestrian, and wounded 10 Arab bystanders, in a hand grenade assault. He was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment. The third was sentenced to 10 years in gaol for planting bombs in Ashdod. The fourth was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment for throwing hand grenades at incoming traffic and for murdering a fellow Arab prisoner. According to his own confession, he strangled the prisoner to death, prying out the victim's eyes with a kitchen spoon. The terrorist organization representing him here demands his safe return - presumably for the benefit of other victims.

Three of the four were released from prison in a 1985 prisoner exchange. The release was conditioned on their commitment to refrain from further terrorist activities. Disregarding this pledge, they continued to foment and direct violent attacks against Arabs and Jews, notwithstanding repeated detentions.

The harvest of terror by similar men has been extensive. Last week alone, an elderly man was murdered in Petah Tikva, a settlement established more than 100 years ago under the Ottoman Empire. Three civilians were stabbed at random in Jerusalem, Israel's capital of 3,000 years. Just last week, an Arab reporter for Israel Radio was shot to death. Six other Arabs were murdered in the territories. Over 450 Arabs and 150 Jews have lost their lives in thousands of terrorist assaults since December 1988. Not one of these attacks was condemned by the Security Council. Such one-sidedness requires no further elaboration; it speaks for itself. The political conclusion is clear and inevitable.

(Mr. Aridor, Israel)

Israel, responsible internationally for the administration of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district, is obligated to restore public safety. By comparison, Iraqis were detained and expelled from western nations during the Gulf War. Justified security considerations at the time of war overwhelmed protests by Amnesty International. Yet, none of those societies contended with the dangers Israelis face on a daily basis.

While in all too many countries unrest is stamped out rapidly and efficiently by the use of brute force, Israel refuses to employ such means. And Israel does not resort to the use of capital punishment sanctioned by the Fourth Geneva Convention.

Israel does resort, in severe contingencies, to a moderate administrative measure in force in the territories: the removal of instigators of violence to outside the area. This is an anti-terrorist measure fully in keeping with Israel's responsibilities in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District. There is no general policy of expulsions. It is a measure of last resort. Expulsion orders are rarely issued. They are carried out, if at all, only in extreme cases when all other measures prove ineffective.

The four individuals who received expulsion orders were given the opportunity to submit an appeal, first to an Advisory Committee attached to the Regional Commander, and subsequently to the Israel Supreme Court sitting as a High Court of Justice. Israel's Supreme Court decided to uphold the expulsion orders.

(Mr. Aridor, Israel)

The Court has determined on a number of occasions that article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention cannot be viewed as anything but a reference to arbitrary mass and individual deportations such as were carried out during the Second World War for the purposes of extermination and forced labour. That was the background and context in which article 49 of the Convention was drafted, and that article should be interpreted accordingly.

Article 49 cannot detract from Israel's obligation to preserve public safety as required by article 43 of the 1907 Hague Convention, nor does it detract from Israel's right to take necessary measures to preserve its own security.

Israel, as opposed to some other States in the Middle East, has no intention of becoming a safe haven for terrorists.

It is not only Jewish lives that are saved by Israel's measures. The right to life of fellow Arabs is safeguarded as well.

The people of Israel yearn for peace. Our region is in need of an enduring peace, which can be achieved only through face-to-face negotiations. Arab States must negotiate with us if they genuinely seek peace. Convening the Council to win points against Israel, resorting to diplomacy by tribunal, is simply not good enough. It is a hollow substitute. It will contribute nothing to the peace process.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): I thank the representative of Israel for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Lebanon. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. MAKKAWI (Lebanon): Before I proceed, Mr. President, I should like to associate myself with the kind words of sympathy you addressed to the Permanent Representative of India on the great and tragic loss of former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. Lebanon shares the grief and sorrow of the Government and the great people of India.

Allow me now, Sir, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. We are confident that under your wise and able leadership the work of the Council will be conducted in a most efficient and orderly manner.

Our congratulations go as well to your predecessor, His Excellency the Permanent Representative of Belgium, Ambassador Paul Noterdaeme, for the excellent manner in which he performed his duties.

Once again the Security Council is meeting to discuss the behaviour of Israel, a country which has been defying, and continues to defy, the international community and the will of the Council, a country which scoffs at the role of the United Nations as supreme arbiter of international justice and even goes so far as to refuse to attend the international peace conference so long as the United Nations is represented at the conference in any capacity.

I ask the Council, has that nation not gone too far? What is the privileged status of Israel that it can use the presence of a United Nations observer as sufficient grounds for vetoing the international conference? Israel, which owes its existence to the United Nations, now seeks to abolish the role of its parent organization vis-à-vis the ever-widening spiral of conflict and violence in the Middle East, of which Israel's illegal domain in three countries is the root.

(Mr. Makkawi, Lebanon)

That brings all of us here again today to discuss one small yet extremely sour manifestation of Israel's intransigence: its recent deportation of four Palestinians from the occupied Gaza Strip to occupied Lebanon in multiple violation of international law.

Given Israel's machiavellian hegemony in the region, where all means are justified by Israel's ends, I ask the Council: where else but Lebanon would Israel think to expel these and scores of other Palestinians? After all, Israel considers Lebanon to be a backyard dumping-ground and an extension of its own territory.

I take this opportunity to remind the Council that not only has Israel taken the liberty and had the audacity to throw Palestinians into my country, but it has also been occupying Lebanon's soil and regularly subjecting the Lebanese civilian population to aerial bombardment.

Within the last week alone I have sent, on behalf of my Government, four letters of complaint to the Secretary-General concerning not only the expulsion of the Palestinians but also recent provocative military manoeuvres carried out by Israel. There has been a massive deployment to southern Lebanon of thousands of Israeli soldiers and scores of tanks and other military vehicles, and Israeli forces have penetrated well into the Lebanese heartland beyond the occupied zone and as far as the city of Jezzine, just 23 miles south-east of Beirut. In nearby Kfarhuna they have set up military headquarters and in addition have subjected four Lebanese villages to aerial bombardment and destruction. In the case of the village of Shabriha, the Israelis even went so far as to use the "smart" bomb.

(Mr. Makkawi, Lebanon)

I am here today not to dwell on the tragedy of Lebanon under Israeli occupation, but rather to focus on the fate of the four Palestinians. The Lebanese Government vigorously condemns their expulsion and deportation in contravention of article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, which prohibits forcible deportation of civilians from occupied territory. Further, I reiterate my Government's objections to Israel's violation of Lebanese sovereignty and territory by its practices which run counter to the Charter of the United Nations, the laws of human rights and, in particular, Security Council resolutions 607 (1988), 608 (1988), 636 (1989) and 641 (1989).

If there are Palestinians in Lebanon it is because the Israeli policy of occupation and land expropriation has created refugees. Israel's illegal seizure of Arab soil has to be rectified; until there is a return to the pre-1967 status quo there will be no peace in the Middle East. The expulsion of Palestinians to Lebanon only adds to the internal problems of my country. It is ironic that the Israeli Government seeks to deport Palestinians to Lebanon only so that it may use the Palestinian presence as a pretext for invading and occupying southern Lebanon.

Another reason for the perpetuation of the Arab-Israeli conflict is that the Council has yet to take the bull by the horns and apply the same yardstick of international justice as has been applied elsewhere in the region. Occupation is occupation, and I echo the sentiments of United States President George Bush, who has said that in today's new world order aggression will not stand.

(Mr. Makkawi, Lebanon)

Indeed, all eyes are focused on the Council, and the question being asked is whether the United Nations will evolve into that supreme arbiter of international justice that its Founding Members intended it to be. The world is waiting to see the same yardstick applied to all aggressors and to all occupiers, and I am confident that the Council will rise to meet the challenge by forcing Israel into compliance with all the relevant resolutions of the United Nations vis-à-vis the Arab-Israeli conflict.

I implore the Council to take the immediate task in hand and repatriate the four Palestinians to their homes and families in the Gaza strip. Then let it turn once more, with renewed strength and vigour, to meeting the formidable challenge of the new world order. At a time when serious efforts are being made by the United States and other countries to convene an international peace conference, no country may be allowed to get in the way of a peaceful solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Israeli aggression must not be allowed to stand, in Lebanon, Syria, or in the lands of occupied Palestine.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): I thank the representative of Lebanon for his kind words addressed to me.

I invite the representative of Jordan to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. SALAH (Jordan) (interpretation from Arabic): Allow me at the outset, Mr. President, to join you in expressing - as you so eloquently did - our sincere condolences to the friendly people of India and to their Government on the tragic loss of their experienced political leader, the late Rajiv Gandhi, whose tragic end came at a time when his country and the world were in dire need of the leadership of great men like him. We are confident that the people of India, long honoured for their traditions and values, will

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

be able to come out of the crisis courageously and be able to maintain their values and their democratic regime. India will remain one of the leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement, advocating the causes of justice and liberty.

It is my pleasure to see you, Sir, representing your country, China, with which my country enjoys sincere relations of friendship, presiding over the Security Council this month. Your competence, expertise and wisdom will most certainly aid the Council to undertake its tasks.

Allow me, Sir, to express my appreciation to your predecessor, Ambassador Paul Noterdaeme, the Permanent Representative of Belgium, for his competent and efficient conduct of the affairs of the Council last month.

The Council, and the world, have been preoccupied during the past few months with the crisis in the Gulf. The way in which the Council addressed the crisis was different from the way in which it had addressed any other international crises or problems. From the point of view of the efficiency, seriousness or keenness with which the Council implemented the relevant resolutions, I have been led to regard the experience we have been through during the past month as the ushering in of a new era in international relations, and also of a new era in the role of the United Nations for the future.

We, for our part, join with many others in expressing the hope that the coming era will be characterized mainly by the universal respect for international law, by the peaceful settlement of international disputes and by an enhancement of the role of the United Nations so that it becomes more effective, not only in finding peaceful solutions to current international conflicts, but also, and more important, in preventing the recurrence of crises and problems. Our international Organization can achieve this

(Mr. Sa'adah, Jordan)

objective if it makes use of the many mechanisms available to it under the Charter. This would spare the world suffering and tension and prevent a recurrence of the painful events of the past month.

I am aware that this meeting is devoted to discussing Israel's deportation of four Palestinian nationals to Lebanon on the 18th of this month. I chose to begin my statement by referring to the past crisis in the Gulf, not because I want to depart from the subject under consideration but in order to emphasize two points: first, the need to learn from the lessons of the crisis, in particular, the importance of undertaking the necessary procedures to spare ourselves from having to face similar crises in future and prevent the exacerbation of current crises; and, secondly, the need for the Security Council to maintain harmony in its ranks and preserve its own credibility by addressing different international problems, using the same standards and with the same degree of seriousness and commitment.

The Israeli practices exemplified by the deportation of the Palestinian citizens are illegal acts under the Fourth Geneva Convention and the relevant Security Council resolutions. Nobody but Israel says otherwise. The Fourth Geneva Convention - specifically, article 49 - is very clear in this respect. The relevant Security Council resolutions are also clear - specifically, resolutions 607 (1988), 636 (1989) and 681 (1990). Hence, our task today is not to prove the illegality of this practice of deportation or of the other inhumane practices pursued by Israel in the occupied territories, to wit, the confiscation of land, establishment of settlements, administrative detention or the demolition of homes or otherwise; our task, as far as I can see, is confined to focusing the attention of the Security Council on the gravity of these acts and on their influence on the situation in general, so that the Council takes the necessary steps.

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

Israel's act of deportation a couple of days ago came at a time when peace efforts were under way and when much had been said about the need for Israel to relax some of its arbitrary measures in the occupied territories in order to ease the way for efforts towards peace. Israel's act may startle us, and especially those who would like to observe it from a distance, but it is in full harmony with the pattern of behaviour that we in the Security Council have known and those who have sought peace have often observed in Israel. The Council is well aware of how often Israel has flouted its resolutions and how assiduously it has worked against them. Outsiders know that in the past Israel has obstructed peace efforts.

I recall that the Security Council, in operative paragraph 3 of resolution 681 (1990), adopted on 20 December 1990, deplored the decision of the Israeli Government to resume the deportation of Palestinian civilians. On 8 January 1991 - only 18 days after the adoption of that resolution - Israel deported four more Palestinian civilians. I might also mention a statement made to the United States Congress by the United States Secretary of State, Mr. James Baker, in which he spoke of his recent peace efforts. He said that nothing makes his task more difficult than the fact that each time he visits Israel he is welcomed there by a new settlement.

Israel's obstinacy is what really requires a decisive response. Israel has always reacted in this way to Security Council resolutions, ignoring and challenging them. The time has come for the Council to make Israel understand very clearly that such defiance cannot be accepted anymore and that, if Israel really wants peace, it must express such a desire by desisting from such practices. Peace has its own requirements, one of which is the display of goodwill by refraining from committing acts that run counter to peace efforts.

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

The forced uprooting and alienation of populations from their territories is a crime against humanity. In the case of the Palestinian civilian in the occupied territories who finds himself facing the imminent threat of deportation from his homeland and his family by an occupying authority, such an act requires the Security Council to do more than merely adopt resolutions and wait until a similar incident occurs to adopt more. The Council must follow up and take effective measures to implement its resolutions. That is the only guarantee against recurrence of such flagrant violations.

It is noteworthy that, in addition to the violation of the rights of the deported Palestinian civilian, these cases of deportation by Israel also involve the violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the neighbouring States, to which Israel forcibly deports those civilians. In perpetrating such acts of deportation, Israel is committing a double crime, thus providing the Security Council with strong motivation to treat the matter with the seriousness it deserves.

The Council is very well aware that the question of deportation, despite its importance and gravity, is not the crux of the problem. That crux is the occupation of territories by force and the deprivation of an entire people of its legitimate rights. Deportation is only one of the off-shoots of the problems of that central issue, and unless a just and lasting solution is found, the complexity of that issue will increase, as will the suffering of the Palestinian people and tension in the Middle East in general. The Council, under its Charter mandate, must shoulder political and legal responsibility for solution of the question of Palestine, the core of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

In view of the important and effective role it played in the Gulf crisis, the Council is also morally bound to maintain its credibility and to show the same level of seriousness and effectiveness. Until we find a just, comprehensive and permanent settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict - at the heart of which, I repeat, is the question of Palestine - we must provide the necessary protection to the Palestinian civilians under occupation in order to prevent Israel's continued perpetration of unlawful practices, including acts of deportation, in the occupied territories.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): I thank the representative of Jordan for his kind words addressed to me.

I should like to inform members of the Council that I have just received letters from the representatives of Algeria and Egypt in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Bendjama (Algeria) and Mr. Galal (Egypt) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): The next speaker is the representative of Egypt. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. GALAL (Egypt) (interpretation from Arabic): It is my honour to address the Security Council on behalf of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) as well.

At the outset, I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. I am convinced that your diplomatic experience and personal abilities, with which we are all familiar, will provide the Council with sure guidance. I should also like to express my delegation's appreciation to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Belgium, for the skill with which he led the Council's deliberations last month.

I would also take this opportunity to express heartfelt condolences to the delegation of India on the tragic death of its former Prime Minister and Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi.

The situation in the Middle East continues to be of special importance to all members of the international community and, in particular, to those countries, in two continents, that are members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. In recent months that region has witnessed an escalation of unrest and unprecedented violence, further increasing the need to make sincere efforts to find a lasting, just and comprehensive solution to all the problems that threaten the security and stability of the region, foremost of which is the question of Palestine, lying as it does at the heart of the Middle East problem.

We had hoped that the new international climate that prevails today might afford opportunities to find a comprehensive solution to the Palestinian

(Mr. Galal, Egypt)

problem that could finally bring to that region of the world the security and stability to which all its peoples aspire and that the new solidarity evidenced by the Security Council might be devoted to putting an end to acts of aggression and to ensuring that the principles of the United Nations Charter and international law were not violated.

However, the Israeli Government's recent decision to deport four Palestinian citizens must be viewed as a flagrant violation of all international instruments concerning the protection of the civilian population of occupied territories, in particular the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949. The fact that Israel persists in carrying out such deportations forces us to reconfirm our total rejection of such behaviour on the part of that country, which is not participating in any way whatsoever in strengthening the peace process that is still being pursued through commendable efforts to find a just, lasting and comprehensive solution to the conflict in the region.

As in the past, Egypt today is calling upon the Israeli Government to put an end to such oppressive practices and to act to restore the confidence of the children of the Palestinian people, which has suffered under the yoke of colonialism and occupation. We therefore also call upon the international community to confirm once again its unanimous position with regard to the protection of the human rights of the Palestinian people and its right to remain in its homeland, notwithstanding the present occupation, to guarantee to that people the restoration of its inalienable rights and the exercise of those rights, including the right to self-determination, within the context of a comprehensive and just solution.

The Egyptian delegation hopes that in the final analysis everyone - and, in particular, Israel - will respond to this appeal for peace, and that Israel will put an end once and for all to its obstruction of the peace process.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): I thank the representative of Egypt for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Algeria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. BENDJAMA (Algeria) (interpretation from French): I should like first of all to associate my delegation with the grief expressed by you, Mr. President, to the delegation of India at the beginning of the meeting. The tragic death of Rajiv Gandhi, who hoped to see the great Indian nation move into the modern era in democratic conditions, is a tragedy not only for the Indian people but for the whole family of non-aligned nations.

(Mr. Bendjama, Algeria)

I also wish to express to you, Sir, the congratulations of the Algerian delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Council and to tell you how pleased we are to see an eminent representative of China in that position. Your great personal and professional qualities are well known to all; they have given you a well-deserved reputation, which at this delicate period is the best guarantee of success for the Council's work.

I also wish to express my sincere appreciation to your predecessor, Ambassador Noterdaeme of Belgium, for the exemplary efficiency with which he presided over the Council during the month of April.

On 18 May the Israeli occupation authorities forcibly deported to Lebanon four young Palestinians accused merely of having resisted foreign oppression. Once again the Council is confronted with a new demonstration of contempt, which reminds it of how little attention the Israeli regime pays to fundamental norms of international conduct with regard to the Palestinian people and the sovereignty of Lebanon, but also - and this is the most serious matter - the very authority of the Security Council, whose position on this question was made clear less than two months ago by a presidential declaration. Evidently that statement, like the many previous decisions of the Council on the matter, did not have the deterrent effect hoped for by its members.

It is also clear that we cannot continue to be content with that result, to express feelings of indignation, which, though praiseworthy in themselves, have never been sufficient when confronting Israeli arrogance. It is now clear that the absence of a truly determined, energetic reaction measuring up to all the powers of the Council has become a factor favouring the irredentism and the contempt which inspire every action of the Israeli occupation authorities.

(Mr. Bendjama, Algeria)

Is it necessary to stress again that those deportations are a new, grave violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War? Is it necessary to recall, as all the Council's resolutions and decisions have done systematically, that the Fourth Geneva Convention applies to Palestinian and other occupied Arab territories? Is it necessary to spell out the responsibility of each contracting party under Article I of the Convention?

However abhorrent and revolting, the four new deportations are only one weapon in the repressive and oppressive arsenal implacably used by the Israeli regime. The goal remains the same: to expel the lawful owners, the Palestinian people, from their ancestral land, to deny that people's national existence, to make military domination permanent and to make irreversible the occupation of the sacred land of Palestine. The means are also well known. They are those applied by any colonial enterprise nourishing the illusion of perpetual domination: brutality, the unceasing escalation of repression, deportations, expulsions, banishments, dynamiting of houses, collective punishments, inhuman and cruel treatment, but also - and often - the assassination of the leaders of the Palestinian resistance.

In this horrific picture the most striking element continues to be the official settlements policy, which is being carried out methodically. More than 200,000 Jewish settlers have already been installed in the occupied territories. Not a week goes by without the creation of new settlements, the expansion of existing settlements or the launching of settlement programmes to encourage the installation of more settlers, notably in Al-Quds al-Sharif. This is happening at a time when the tragedy of the Palestinian people,

(Mr. Bendjama, Algeria)

refugees on their own land or in exile, has become, through its continuation to the point where it has become commonplace, more than a crime against humanity. Even the repeated travels of the United States Secretary of State are each time greeted by the creation of new settlements, as if to make him more aware of the interest that the occupation authorities take in the success of his efforts.

This all testifies to the huge gap between the actions of the Zionist occupier and the need to seek a true peace based on justice and therefore necessarily on the attainment of the national rights of the Palestinian people on the whole of its homeland.

How can one pretend to seek peace in Palestine and to decide the future of the Palestinian people while ignoring those mainly concerned - the Palestinians themselves? How can one look to a true peace while insisting on ignoring what cannot be ignored, the only authority to which the Palestinians have entrusted their fate, the Palestine Liberation Organization? How can one continue to postpone implementing the only adequate framework for dealing with the question of Palestine and the Middle East conflict, a framework for which almost the whole of the international community has already indicated its preference, the international peace conference, in which the permanent members of the Council would play an active part?

(Mr. Bendjama, Algeria)

All these aspects must guide the decisions that the Council has to take. Adopting the draft resolution will be the Council's first reaction to the contemptuous attitude of the Israeli regime, a reaction commensurate with the responsibilities the international community has entrusted to the Council. For beyond the duty, moral and legal, to ensure the humanitarian protection of the Palestinian people, in accordance with the Fourth Geneva Convention, there arises the political settlement of the whole question of Palestine, on which depends - and this cannot be over-emphasized - the establishment of peace and security in the region.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): I thank the representative of Algeria for his kind words addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is now ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it.

Since no member of the Council wishes to speak before the vote, I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/22633.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Austria, Belgium, China, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, France, India, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Yemen, Zaire, Zimbabwe

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): The result of the voting is as follows: 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 694 (1991).

I shall now call on those members who wish to make statements after the vote.

Mr. PICKERING (United States of America): President Bush and Secretary Baker have stated repeatedly the opposition of the United States to the Government of Israel's policy of deporting Palestinians. This has been the long-standing policy of the United States. Deportations are not acceptable under the Geneva Conventions. They do not contribute to efforts for peace. The United States again calls on the Government of Israel to cease deportations.

This is the moment for Israel to change its policy on deportations. Intensive efforts are under way to bring about negotiations between Israel and Arab States and Palestinians. The objective of the negotiating process is a comprehensive settlement based on United Nations Security Council resolutions

(Mr. Pickering, United States)

242 (1967) and 338 (1973). The parties in the region agree that this process will proceed along two tracks, through parallel direct negotiations between Israel and Arab States and Israel and Palestinians. The United States remains convinced that we have defined a workable process for moving to negotiations. Much depends on whether the parties can muster the vision and will to act. It is our fervent hope that they will find the courage to do so.

Even as the United States voted in favour of this resolution today, our sights were focused on the achievement of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the region.

As we have stated in the past, the United States regards the phrase "all the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem", which appears in this resolution, as being merely demographically and geographically descriptive and not indicative of sovereignty.

Mr. AL-ALFI (Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): Mr. President, my delegation shares with you the sincere expression of condolences and sadness felt by all and the sense of great loss brought about by the death of Rajiv Gandhi, former Prime Minister of India and one of the outstanding leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement. On this occasion, I also wish to convey our condolences to the delegation and people of India and to the family of the deceased.

Sir, we are very pleased to see you presiding over the deliberations of the Security Council. You represent a friendly country with which we enjoy sincere and friendly relations in various fields. We also recognize your ability and wisdom which have contributed in a positive manner to addressing many regional and international questions. Your continued efforts have succeeded in achieving peaceful solutions to many of our problems.

(Mr. Al-Alfi, Yemen)

I would be remiss if I did not express our thanks and appreciation to His Excellency the Permanent Representative of Belgium, Ambassador Noterdaeme, for the way in which he presided over the work of the Council during the month of April.

It will be clearly seen by anyone bent on following the developments in international relations that these relations are currently undergoing an important and positive stage. It is a stage in which the features of the new world order are characterized by cooperation in addressing all international issues in a peaceful manner. That is taking place in a way which allows the United Nations to play a central role, one that was very clearly defined in its Charter. It will thus be able to embody the will of the international community.

This optimistic view was reinforced by the way in which the Security Council has recently addressed the situation. But in order for this approach to become the rule and not the exception, the international Organization must remain alert to address with equal vigour all international questions, foremost among which is the question of the Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East. This applies in particular to the crux of the matter, the question of the Arab Palestinian people. We believe that such seriousness alone will guarantee the credibility of the international community in the application of these principles and just laws. Indeed, it is the only guarantee for the maintenance of the pillars of a just peace in the region and in the world at large.

We hope that the unanimity which characterized the adoption of the resolution by the Council today will be the beginning of an era in which the

(Mr. Al-Alfi, Yemen)

Security Council will address with determination and consistency the question of the Middle East and, in particular, the question of Palestine.

We address the question of the Middle East on the basis of solid pillars, foremost among which is the international unanimity clearly translated by the Security Council in the resolutions adopted over the past years.

(Mr. Al-Alfi, Yemen)

It is all summarized by the fact that the question of Palestine is the core of the Middle East conflict and by the fact that there can be no comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East without the enjoyment by the Palestinian people of its legitimate rights and Israeli withdrawal from the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and all other occupied Arab territories.

The international community has also been unanimous in defining a valid framework for a just and lasting political settlement in the Middle East: a just and comprehensive settlement based on clear principles defined and unanimously accepted in United Nations resolutions on Palestine and the Middle East. Although the framework and pillars of a comprehensive peaceful settlement in the Middle East have been defined, although the Secretary-General annually reaffirms the need to give impetus to this process and work seriously to find a just settlement, and although many efforts are under way to reach such a peaceful settlement - through the work of the Secretary-General and his appointment of a personal representative, and through other efforts now being made - we still note that the real obstacle remains Israel's behaviour and its lack of respect for the will of the international community, manifested in its persistence in a range of measures such as the establishment of settlements in the occupied territories and the deportation of Palestinians from the territories in massive, flagrant violation of the 1949 Fourth Geneva Convention, which applies to all Palestinian territories occupied by Israel.

(Mr. Al-Alfi, Yemen)

Parallel with those tactics is a whole series of measures over the years violating Security Council resolutions. Regrettably, Israel has carried these out unopposed. The salient features of the pattern are these:

First is Israel's lack of compliance with Security Council resolutions 476 (1980) and 478 (1981), which determine that the Israeli decision to annex Jerusalem and name it its eternal capital, along with all measures to alter the demographic, geographical, institutional and legal character and status, shall be null and void. Those resolutions call on Israel to desist forthwith from all such acts.

Second are Israel's continued acts of aggression, policies and practices against the population within and outside the Palestinian territories, including the expropriation of land, the establishment of settlements, the annexation of territories and other measures that violate the principles of the United Nations Charter, international law and international agreements and conventions.

The third is Israel's persistence in establishing settlements in the West Bank and Gaza in defiance of the international community's resolutions on this matter.

The fourth feature is Israel's lack of compliance with Security Council resolution 497 (1981), which decided that the Israeli decision to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration in the occupied Syrian Arab Golan Heights is null and void and without legal effect or legitimacy.

The fifth is Israel's refusal to respect Security Council resolutions 425 (1978), 508 (1982), 509 (1982), 659 (1990) and other relevant resolutions, and its continued occupation of southern Lebanon and its imposition there of demographic changes in defiance of the will of the international community.

(Mr. Al-Alfi, Yemen)

That Israeli record, replete with the violations of Security Council resolutions that have continued unpunished over the years and that continue today in full view of world public opinion, makes us, all Arab peoples and all other peace-loving peoples in the world insist on the need to address seriously those breaches of the laws and principles on which this Organization is based. In the light of the important contributions made by Arab States to the realization of the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to a comprehensive, just and peaceful settlement in the Middle East, it is only logical that Israel - whose ongoing policies aim at exacerbating the conflict and spreading it through the region - should be viewed as breaching the principles of international law and as threatening international peace and security. By refusing, in violation of Article 25 of the Charter, to accept and implement the many resolutions adopted by the Security Council, Israel is not living up to its Charter commitments.

The Arab peoples look optimistically at the prevailing features of today's international relations. They hope that the same seriousness and determination will be brought to bear on all the issues of our region and that this will ultimately lead to the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. We are at pains to reaffirm the need for concrete measures to deal with the long-standing and complex problems of our region. Only this will bolster the credibility and seriousness of the Security Council in shouldering its responsibilities and applying a single standard to all questions.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): I thank the representative of Yemen for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. ROCHEREAU DE LA SABLIERE (France) (interpretation from French): Mr. President, the French delegation wishes to associate itself with the condolences you expressed to the representative of India on the tragic death of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi.

My delegation deeply regrets the fact that, once again, we should be meeting here as a consequence of measures adopted by Israel in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention and the decisions of the Security Council. The deportations on 18 May of four Palestinians from Gaza lengthen the unfortunately already long list of Palestinian civilians - more than 60 - wrongly driven from their homes by the occupying Power. We cannot but regret these new deportations, which contravene the Fourth Geneva Convention.

Resolution 681 (1990), adopted unanimously on 20 December last, did in any case commit the Israeli Government to recognizing the de jure applicability of that instrument to all the territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem. The same resolution, whose importance has already been emphasised by my delegation, also contains provisions whose aim is to ensure the protection of Palestinian civilians in the occupied territories. France feels particularly strongly that this text should be implemented, and extends its full support to the Secretary-General's efforts towards that end.

The expulsions are also contrary to the many decisions, resolutions and presidential statements adopted in this Chamber whereby our Council called upon the Israeli Government to refrain from deporting Palestinian civilians from the occupied territories and to ensure the return of those who had been expelled.

(Mr. Rochereau de la Sablière, France)

The latest deportation measures, decided on last week by the Israeli Government, are doubly regrettable, both because they are illegal and because they are occurring at a sensitive moment, when efforts are being made to strike up a dialogue with the aim of holding a peace conference. France supports these efforts and hopes they will succeed.

For both the above reasons, our Council should react, and has just done so by unanimously adopting resolution 694 (1991). We welcome the fact that it has done so.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The Soviet delegation associates itself with your words of condolence, Mr. President, in respect of the tragic demise of the former Prime Minister of India, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi.

This is not the first time that the Security Council has tackled the question of the deportation of Palestinians. Unfortunately, as the events of 18 May show, this anti-humanitarian and totally illegal practice continues, despite the decisions of the Security Council and in violation of Israel's obligations under the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.

The Soviet delegation considers that the resolution just adopted by the Security Council, resolution 694 (1991), in reaction to the latest act of deportation, is timely and important. Nobody can deny that Palestinian citizens in the occupied territories are deeply in need of the assistance and protection of the United Nations. In this connection, the Soviet Union fully supports the demands for the return of the deported Palestinians.

We consider that actions of this kind by the Israeli authorities bring an additional element of destabilization and sensitivity into an already explosive situation in the occupied territories. Israel should seriously and realistically assess the consequences of the practice of deportation, and of

(Mr. Vorontsov, USSR)

its policy of creating Israeli settlements in the occupied territories, which are undermining the efforts that have been taken of late to settle the Middle East situation.

There is some chance that a settlement may be possible: this was clearly stated in recent visits to the Middle East by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Mr. Bessmertnykh, and the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Baker. The Soviet Minister stated unambiguously that a policy of peace in the Middle East has quite a high chance of success, and that this comes as a result of events not only in the region but in the world as a whole.

We are convinced that the international community must step up its participation in efforts to establish peace and stability in the area and take practical steps to carry out United Nations resolutions in order to establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. The Soviet Union, for its part, intends to continue to do everything in its power to contribute to establishing a comprehensive Middle East settlement, including a solution to the Palestinian problem.

In that context, we attach particular importance to the necessity of not allowing any actions which might jeopardize developments in the search for a solution to the Palestinian problem.

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): I shall begin, Mr. President, by thanking you most warmly for the eloquent and dignified tribute which you paid on behalf of us all on the tragic occasion of the death of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi.

My delegation has spoken out, and voted, on a number of previous occasions - too many - about the practice of deportation from the occupied territories by the Israeli authorities. The practice is contrary to the

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

Fourth Geneva Convention, which applies to these territories, and it cannot be condoned.

On this occasion, however, as the preamble to the resolution we have just adopted makes clear, the action is even more reprehensible, because it occurs at a time when a major effort is being made to set up a peace process to address one of the deepest and most long-standing international disputes to have troubled the world since the United Nations was established. My Government strongly supports the efforts being made by Secretary of State Baker to bring the parties to the negotiating table, and therefore particularly deplores any action by any party which makes that effort more difficult.

What is needed now is not actions which risk undermining the initiative being taken to organize a peace process, but actions which strengthen that process and support the initiative. We therefore appeal to all concerned, not just to Israel, but to all concerned - and of course that must include Israel, as one of those most directly concerned - to work, in the days and weeks ahead, to get that peace process under way.

Mr. ALARCON DE QUESADA (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): I should first like to express to you, Sir, my delegation's deep pleasure at seeing you preside over the Council. You represent a country with which mine is bound by close and profound ties of friendship and cooperation. You also represent a great country, whose principled policy and support for the principles of the Charter are among the positive factors in current international relations. The talent and experience you have demonstrated in presiding over this body this month have enabled us to adopt some important measures, thanks largely to the leadership which you have given the work of the Council.

I should also like to take the opportunity to express our gratitude to Ambassador Notredaeme, the Permanent Representative of Belgium, for the skill and courtesy with which he conducted the Council's work last month.

My delegation also fully associates itself, Mr. President, with your words of condolence to the representative of India on the occasion of the untimely death of Rajiv Gandhi.

In adopting resolution 694 (1991), the Security Council has once again declared its position on the deportations of Palestinian civilians from the territories occupied by Israel. Once again, the Council is dealing with a partial aspect of the Palestinian tragedy and the problems relating to the Middle East, the in-depth, serious and diligent consideration of which continues to be an inescapable obligation for the Council.

In the preamble of the resolution just adopted, reference is made to the efforts designed to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East. In truth, it is one thing for us to place confidence in such efforts; it is another matter for the Council to adopt a more consistent and

(Mr. Alarcon de Quesada, Cuba)

coherent attitude towards the Middle East conflict in general and the Palestinian problem in particular.

As everyone knows, the resolution we have just adopted is based on resolution 681 (1990), which, following lengthy and complicated negotiations that lasted almost two months, was adopted on 20 December 1990 - approximately five months ago. During the interval, the Council was unable to adopt any important decisions that might have eased the plight of the civilian population in the occupied territories and offered them some effective protection.

Sixteen months ago, when I was occupying the President's chair, I had occasion to receive a request for an urgent meeting of the Security Council in order to consider the question of the settlements in the occupied territories. Yet the Council has still not even begun to deal seriously with the matter. We hope, however, that it will be able to do so very soon.

If Middle East peace efforts are going to have some degree of credibility, the Council must act consistently in the face of the occupation of territories in that part of the world, in connection with Palestine first and foremost, but also in connection with the occupied Syrian Golan Heights and the part of the Lebanese Republic that continues to be under Israeli occupation despite all the decisions taken by the Council. Our colleague from Lebanon was quite right, in his letter to the Council, in pointing out that the matter before the Council involves also the violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon, and in reminding us of the need for the Council to increase its efforts to implement resolution 425 (1978).

(Mr. Alarcon de Quesada, Cuba)

Only by adopting a clear position against all forms of foreign occupation and a consistent position towards the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to exercise fully its national rights, including the right to establish its own sovereign and independent State in Palestine, will we really be in a position to lend credibility to our words on behalf of the efforts to achieve a settlement of the conflict.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): I thank the representative of Cuba for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. HAJNOCZI (Austria): First of all, Mr. President, I should like to associate myself with the words you have spoken so eloquently on the death of Rajiv Gandhi. India has lost a great world leader, a most respected statesman who has made an important contribution and tackled some of the most difficult issues of our time. I should like to extend to Ambassador Menon and through him to his country and to the bereaved family the condolences of Austria.

Permit me to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. Considering your personal qualities and experience, we are convinced, as we have already seen, that the Council cannot but benefit from your guidance in carrying out its work. I should also like to congratulate the Permanent Representative of Belgium, Ambassador Notredaeme, for the excellent manner in which he presided over the Council last month.

The deportations certainly bring tragedy to the four Palestinians and their families, but their effect transcends the fate of individuals. This act constitutes a clear violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, which is applicable to all the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem.

(Mr. Hajnoczi, Austria)

The members of the Security Council addressed the deportation of these Palestinians in the statement of the President of the Security Council of 27 March 1991, regrettably to no avail. The decision by Israel to actually carry out these deportations in spite of the statement and relevant Security Council resolutions is all the more deplored by my country. The deportations, furthermore, have to be seen in the broader context of the Middle East peace process.

Currently, intensive efforts to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting peace are underway. The deportation of four Palestinian civilians can only have - and, indeed, in our view, has had - a detrimental impact on these efforts. We believe that the adoption of this resolution with 15 votes in favour is in itself an important signal and we support fully the text just adopted.

Austria, having voted in favour of the resolution, launches an appeal to Israel to refrain from deporting any Palestinian civilians from the occupied territories and to ensure the safe and immediate return of all those deported. We call upon all concerned to desist from acts that could undercut the endeavours towards peace. Finally, Austria wishes to express its support for the ongoing efforts to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement and peace in the Middle East based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): I thank the representative of Austria for the kind words he addressed to me. I should now like to make a statement in my capacity as Permanent Representative of China.

Since the end of the Gulf war, the international community has been expecting progress in the efforts to solve the Middle East question and, in particular, the Palestinian issue. However, what people have seen with great regret is that the Israeli Government is still clinging to its rigid position and has deported more Palestinian civilians from the occupied territory. Such practice not only runs counter to the Fourth Geneva Convention and flouts the relevant Security Council resolutions but also further deteriorates the situation in the occupied territory, thus laying a new obstacle in the way of the peace process in the Middle East. Such Israeli practice should be condemned.

We hope that the Israeli Government will earnestly heed the message conveyed by the current deliberation of the Security Council, halt its deportation of Palestinian residents and other repressive measures and adopt a flexible attitude so as to facilitate the endeavours for a just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East question.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

There are no more speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 7.50 p.m.